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ABSTRACT

This document traces the growth of the idea of a world university and its emergence from the decisionmaking labyrinth of the United Nations systems as the United Nations University. Challenges that lie ahead for this global institution in realizing genuine intellectual freedom, a meaningful relationship to existing universities, and a significant role for the world's youth are analyzed. Sections cover the idea of a world university, the United Nations plan, the influence and interest of UN members in the UN university, guarantees of intellectual freedom, administration of the university, the university scanning device, the role of youth, a university without students, means of involving students and teachers, research, training and social action. (Author/HJM)

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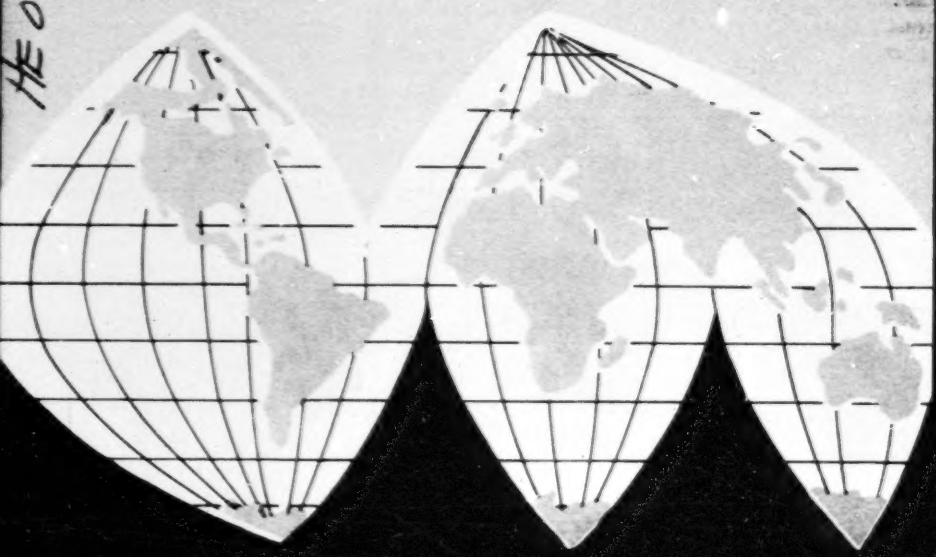
THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

To HE

HAROLD TAYLOR



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THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

by
Harold Taylor

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October, 1973

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FOREWORD

We stand at an historic moment in the evolution of international intellectual cooperation. A new institution is being created before our eyes with the extraordinary potential of becoming a truly transnational structure to enlarge and disseminate knowledge about critical global problems on a world-wide basis.

The goals of the United Nations University are arresting ones. In the words of the draft Charter for the UN University, the University "shall be an international community of scholars engaged in research, post-graduate training, and dissemination of knowledge in furtherance of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations." Peace. Social justice. The economic well-being and cultural nourishment of all men on this small planet of ours. Can a "community of scholars," no matter what its composition and structure, do anything which really matters in achieving these ultimate purposes of the UN?

Harold Taylor traces in these pages the growth of the idea of a world university and its emergence from the decision-making labyrinth of the UN system as the United Nations University. He analyzes the challenges which lie ahead for this soon-to-be-born global institution in realizing genuine intellectual freedom, a meaningful relationship to existing universities, and especially, a significant role for the world's youth. He does not answer the question of whether the UN University will achieve its ambitious goals but he does argue persuasively for the help and involvement in the UN University of those in the world intellectual community committed to these goals.

In pulling together authoritatively and in one place the central aspects of the UN University story, both in the text and in the sources cited in the bibliography which follows, Mr. Taylor has done a signal service for those of us who are excited by the possibilities which the UN University offers and who are conscious of the difficulties which must be overcome in realizing these possibilities. It is hard to imagine anyone better equipped for this task. He has been an actor on center stage of the movement toward global educational cooperation for many years, while simultaneously a scholarly critic in the wings. In an arena where rhetoric is rife and action often nil, he has bridged the two by playing a seminal role in creating a truly global college curriculum, which has actually been put in practice as the Friends World College. And now he has taken the initiative in organizing the United States Committee for the United Nations University to stimulate thinking and involvement by the U.S. higher education community as the new University gets under way.

We have sought no consensus of outlook or position among the organizations which are participating in this cooperative publishing venture, or the constituencies to which they are related, about the United Nations University and the ideas and issues raised by Mr. Taylor in the pages following. The character and purposes of these organizations are diverse, as the brief words of identification

on the inside front and back covers reveal. But we are united in our conviction that the world intellectual community has a vital role in furthering the cause of international peace, social justice, and the other goals of the United Nations Charter and in our belief that faculty and students in U.S. colleges and universities and other concerned citizens should be better informed than they are now about the creation of "an international community of scholars" directed toward these goals. For these reasons we have joined together in bringing forth this publication and will disseminate it as widely as our respective resources permit to encourage discussion and generate ideas about the UN University and the relationship of the U.S. academic community to it.

Ward Morehouse
President
Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs

THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

Considered as a system for teaching the debasement of human values, war is the most powerful of all educational institutions. Its curriculum lies in the art and science of deceiving, killing, and destroying. Its most successful students learn to ruin whatever they touch. Its highest honors go to those who have produced the most dead most advantageously.

Although its most effective educational work is done in the course of massacres, bombings, and similar lessons in the field, war also has its own colleges and military academies across the world where the theory and practice of rational and strategic killing can be studied and taught. During 1970 in the United States alone, nearly 16,000 foreign officers and enlisted men were trained for war, some from countries which intended to fight one another, some from countries that use their armies for repressing social change, frustrating democracy, and violating the basic rights of their citizens. It is as if the Borgia family ran a school for poisoning with an open admissions policy.

But if there is an international war system with its war colleges – some of which, as in the Scandinavian countries, graduate peace-keeping forces and anti-war colonels and generals – where is the peace system and its colleges? Where do politicians, scholars, diplomats, international civil servants, citizens, and students go to learn how to prevent wars and stop them once they have started? Where do you find the courses of instruction for building new social institutions on a global scale which can blunt the edge of ideological conflict and create new peace-building environments? Where is the place for making and teaching contingency plans for the peaceful settlement of international disputes? Where are the scenarios for peace to match the infinite variety of war scenarios produced daily by the experts of NATO, the Warsaw pact, and the war departments of the world's governments?

The ready answer is that the contemporary nation-states still believe that war and military strength are the most powerful instruments for achieving national security and international stability and for exercising national influence in international affairs. They are therefore prepared to pay exorbitant prices in social, economic, and human terms to continue the institutions which feed the energies of the war machine. They make the simple assumption that the country with the biggest potential for destruction has the greatest influence on the conduct of the world's affairs. They say that to reduce the size of their armies and the extent of their military threat would be to upset the stability of the world's military environment and make war more likely. Rather than looking for ways in which each country would have less reason to fear or to fight another country, they look for security by increasing the military threat and making it more sophisticated. Peace is dangerous to security, since it involves relaxation of tension and a lessening in the power of threats. To put it another way, peace is bad for maintaining peace.

Now is the time to stop short and announce once again that wars can and must be stopped and prevented, and that there is a strategy of peace-making, peace-building, and global development that can be taught and can be learned. It

is also time once more to tell the skeptics who call peace strategies utopian and unworkable that war is unworkable and that all it does is kill people.

If the peacemakers have not beaten the warmakers at the war game, this does not mean that they never will. How long has the world been consciously trying? How many universities, scientific institutes, and government agencies in any country have agreed to develop social strategies and principles for peace-making to proclaim, teach, and apply on a national and international scale?

From the end of World War II to 1973 there have been 103 wars with an estimated twenty to thirty million deaths and uncountable millions of refugees. Nearly all of the wars have been civil wars or actions to overthrow regimes, colonial or otherwise, with overt and covert intervention by outside powers who have supplied most of the weapons. In some cases – Nigeria, and Pakistan, for example – no power on earth has seemed capable of stopping the killing until it ran its course. In only 18 percent of all the cases has it been possible for the United Nations or any other international agency to settle or prevent war by mediation, negotiation or non-violent soulutions.

But that does not mean that we have to leave it that way. The time we have now entered is infinitely different from any that has gone before. The greatest difference of all is that national problems for the largest nation-states are dangerous global problems. Not only are the major powers pressed up against each other whether they want to be or not. All countries, large and small, are closely connected with one another through visible economic and political networks. There is no need to repeat again the list of examples – from oil spills to nuclear bomb testing to the unexploited resources in the world's ocean beds – we are all in it together.

Yet the institutions of education around the world have not yet emancipated themselves from the doctrine of national self-interest in what they teach and what their citizens learn. The world's scholars and educators, whose primary business, surely, is to advance the cause of the human race, have been too busy with too many other things. Or they have joined the diplomats and crisis-managers in advancing various nationalist aims in an era which cries out for trans-national cooperation.

At this stage in a time of social disasters, scholars and educators, above all others, have the fullest chance to change their course of action and to act as leaders into a new era of global cooperation. Some of them already have and more will. There are the pioneers among the Pugwash scientists, the peace research institutes, the planning staffs for UN peace-keeping forces, world refugee workers, world congresses of scholars and scientists on topics ranging from the application of international law to the training of teachers, all of them at work against the background of a continuous stream of examples of the futility of war as a means of solving political problems.

In other words, there are practical alternatives to the continuance of an obsolete system of nation-states jostling for position while using their educational institutions to build social, seconomic, political, and manpower resources to carry out the jostling. The achievement of a sense of national identity

through cultural and educational institutions designed for that purpose is a necessary first step for any serious and long-run involvement in the creation of a new world order. But a strong national identity need not contradict the idea of international and global cooperation, nor is it necessary in the interest of maintaining that identity to develop educational institutions which teach the superiority of one's own race, culture and nation-state over every other.

All that is necessary is to accept what is true – that all cultures and societies are in a process of change and are part of a planetary social system in which each has a contribution to make to every other. This need not negate a pride in national origin, a sense of national selfhood, or a concern for national interests. What it does is to make it crucially important that the world's educational systems be organized in such a way that they serve the cause of a peaceable and just world order in which each country has its own role to play.

Some of the institutions designed for the enhancement of global cooperation have already been established. The International Peace Academy is one of them. With an international board of directors which includes three Nobel Prize winners and represents the East, West and Third World, over the past four years in Vienna, Helsinki, Cyprus and elsewhere, the Academy has organized programs for study and action on the issues of peace and war and in the training of professionals in the field of non-violent settlement of international disputes. A range of expert peace practitioners and scholars have taken part, from General Inda Jit Rikhye, former military advisor to the United Nations and Chairman of the Academy, to Danilo Dolci, the Italian scholar and activist in non-violent social change, Silviu Brucan, former Rumanian Ambassador to the United Nations, and Johan Galtung of the Peace Research Institute in Oslo. They and others have joined with representatives from thirty-four countries – diplomats from the foreign services, journalists, officers assigned to UN peace-keeping forces, members of international organizations, government officials, students and scholars in the peace research field – to carry out training, research and educational action on the issues of peace and war.

Other organizations, some of them based in the United States, including Universities and the Quest for Peace, the World Academy of Art and Science, the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development, the International Peace Research Institute in Stockholm, the Association of World Colleges and Universities, the International Council for Educational Development, the Institute for World Order, among many others, have broken new ground in using the resources of international scholarship and education to deal with the problem of building a cooperative world community. Teams of scholars in eight regions of the world have been organized by the Institute for World Order to prepare research studies for use with governments and international bodies to develop the changes in the international system necessary to ensure peace and social justice on a world scale. In the United States alone there are five hundred colleges and universities which include peace studies in their curricula: in fifty of them there are programs leading toward a higher degree for concentrated study of peace-war issues, the resolution of conflict and the development of global cooperation.

But there is one basic question that remains to be answered. At a time when

the conventional wisdom now holds that the whole of world society is a series of interlocking national and international communities with common interests and common problems, how can the educational institutions of the world best use their intellectual and moral resources in a common effort for the cause of peace, human rights, and social justice?

THE IDEA OF A WORLD UNIVERSITY

During the early years of the League of Nations in the 1920's, several proposals were made to the League for sponsoring a world university – an International League of Minds – as a way of helping to create a collective security for the world's intellect and a counterforce both against nationalism and the use of mass violence in international affairs. The arguments against the idea were usually made by university scholars attached to national universities. They held that the universities by definition were already international in their outlook and that new institutions of this kind were not necessary. If anything were to be done, it should be to expand the existing universities and internationalize them further. Although several European amalgamations were formed, the idea for a fully international institution never got past the discussion stage.

Fifty years later, at the beginning of the 1970's, the idea of a world university was once more proposed, this time by U Thant in his report to the United Nations General Assembly of 1969. In the period between World War II and U Thant's report, more than a thousand proposals for one form or another of a world university were made by scholars, citizens, students, and educators around the world, most often in the form of projects suggested to UNESCO as part of UNESCO's program.

The idea of global cooperation within the international scientific community had already been established in such undertakings as the International Centre For Theoretical Physics in Trieste, the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines, the Centre for the Co-ordination of Research and Documentation in the Social Sciences and the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, the World Federation of Institutes of Advanced Study in Stockholm, among many others. International research teams on problems of economic and social development had been at work for the planning and analysis of problems for the World Bank, the International Labour Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, among other UN agencies. By the end of 1971 there were 2,300 international non-governmental organizations in fields ranging from trade unionism to religion, the social sciences and medicine, along with some 250 international organizations among governments.

In the United States in the early sixties, the movement toward world education had already begun. A 100-member Committee for the Promotion of an International University in America was formed in 1960 by the late William Heard Kilpatrick. The first Peace Research Institute was organized in 1960-61 by the Institute for International Order (now Institute for World Order) along with a Committee on Peace Research composed of American scholars in the social and natural sciences. An Association for Commitment to World Responsibility com-

posed of students and faculty members at the University of Michigan in 1961 proposed a United Nations Volunteer Service Corps and a United Nations University; a Center for Conflict Resolution was established as part of the University of Michigan Graduate School. A pilot project for a World College was organized by Harold Taylor in 1963 in collaboration with the Quakers, United Nations delegations, and secretariat members.* The U.S. Congress in 1966 passed the International Education Act, a far-reaching and enlightened piece of legislation which called for American participation in a world educational system, with a Center for Educational Cooperation to be established as a clearing-house for international scholarship, planning, and curriculum-making.

After the United States became preoccupied with the Indochinese War, the Congress never did produce the appropriations necessary to put the plans into action, and since 1966, the United States government has shown less and less interest in supporting the world university idea. In discussions and debates on the establishment of a United Nations University at UNESCO, the UN Economic and Social Council and the UN General Assembly, except for an interval in 1969 and 1970 when Glenn Olds served as U.S. Ambassador to the Economic and Social Council, the U.S. point of view has been one of guarded scepticism of the need for such an institution, the feasibility of trying to establish it, and the possibility of financing it.

The scepticism was shared in part by other governments, including the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom, and several of the Eastern Socialist Republics, although in the final vote at the General Assembly on December 11th, 1972, the U.S. joined with 101 other countries in favor, with only the Eastern Socialist Republics and the Soviet Union voting against, and four abstentions.

THE UNITED NATIONS PLAN

As the idea moved through the United Nations system from U Thant's proposal of 1969 to the Assembly resolution of 1972, it became transformed from the original conception of an international university with a central campus and a student body, faculty, and curriculum drawn from the entire world, where, "working and living together in an international atmosphere . . . students from various parts of the world would be better able to understand one another. Even in their formative years, they would be able to break down the barriers among nations and cultures . . ."

It was felt by the planners that for the institution to concentrate on undergraduate and graduate instruction would mean that "this kind of teaching would duplicate the work already done in existing institutions and, moreover, to organize such teaching would raise innumerable technical, political and financial problems." Beneath the surface of the discussion lurked the same argument raised by the critics of the idea at the League of Nations – that universities by

*Described in Michael Zweig, *The Idea of a World University*, edited by Harold Taylor, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, Illinois, 1967. *The Idea of a World University* contains an analysis and history of the concept of world education, an account of the proposals which have been made, and an outline of the problems to be solved in constructing world institutions.

their nature deal in international truth and that if money were to be spent for international education, it should be used to internationalize the present institutions, not to start a new one which could deal with only a minute sector of the world's student body. Beneath that argument, at a deeper level, lay the reluctance of governments and national universities to entrust the education of their young "in their formative years" to a supranational body with a supranational curriculum.

The basic work of planning an alternative world institution to be supported by the United Nations was carried out by the staff of UNESCO after a preliminary study in 1970 by Arthur Lall, former head of the Indian delegation to the UN. The UNESCO study in 1970-71 was based on a survey of the ideas of educators and scholars in universities around the world and was followed by a review of the results and recommendations of the UNESCO study by a specially-appointed United Nations Panel of Experts, twenty in number, representing the world university community.

More recently, in 1973, a Founding Committee of twenty-four international scholars and educators, under a mandate from the General Assembly of 1972, drew up a draft charter for presentation in the fall of 1973 to the UNESCO Executive Board, the Economic and Social Council, and the UN General Assembly for final acceptance. Andrew Cordier, former Under-Secretary of the United Nations, and formerly President of Columbia University and dean of the Graduate School of International Affairs, acted as Chairman for both the Panel of Experts and the Founding Committee.

What has emerged after the four years of planning, study, and debate is a United Nations University governed by a Rector and a twenty-four member Governing Council of independent scholars, responsible through the Secretary-General to the General Assembly, with a world headquarters and coordinating Center for a "global decentralized network of centers and programs of research and training." The University is designed "to promote, undertake and stimulate as well as co-ordinate advanced research and training focused on the aspirations, the needs and problems of contemporary society .... problems concerning all mankind, that is to say, such problems as human survival, development and human welfare ... It should make provision for education for social change and social responsibility, so as to 'promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom' .... "

The research and training, to be carried on by international teams of distinguished scholars and scientists from many disciplines, appointed by the Rector and Governing Council in consultation with the directors of the regional centers, will therefore be of a kind related to practical action rather than to theoretical discourse. The research results are intended to contribute not only to the intellectual and social needs of the world at large, but to help in the solution of the major problems faced by the organizations and agencies of the United Nations system. The University is to cooperate closely with existing universities, research institutes and non-governmental organizations, "especially youth and student organizations, in the fulfillment of its objectives."

Financial support for the University is to come not from the regular UN

budgets, but from voluntary contributions by UN members, non-governmental organizations, foundations, and individuals. It is assumed that some UN agencies, such as the World Bank, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the World Health Organization, will allocate fellowship funds for the training of young scholars in areas of research specially relevant to the work of the agencies. Arrangements may also be made by UN agencies and other bodies on a contractual basis for UN University research on specified topics and issues.

As of the fall of 1973, several countries have stated their intention of offering buildings, grounds, and facilities as well as funds for the University in order to establish UN University centers in their own regions. The question of where the regional centers and the University headquarters will be located is to be decided by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Secretary-General. The Founding Committee has proposed that an endowment fund of significant size should be raised so that once the capital costs for the headquarters and the centers have been met, there will be a sufficient flow of assured annual income to support the research and training programs, especially those in the developing countries.

Preliminary calculations by the UN planners estimate that the average capital costs for establishing a regional center will be in the neighborhood of $5 million, with $2.5 million in annual running costs. It is expected that in the case of the developed countries, the full capital costs and from fifty to seventy-five percent of the running costs will be met by the host country. The total cost to a host country thus compares favorably with the budget of a regular national university. The headquarters for planning and co-ordinating the research in the regions, once the buildings and facilities are provided, is expected to require an annual budget in the neighborhood of $6 million for staff, meetings, seminars, interpreters, documentation, and research. The general estimate of the number of regional centers in the future calls for at least nine in the developing countries and six in the developed.

THE INFLUENCE AND INTEREST OF UN MEMBERS IN THE UN UNIVERSITY

Although it is impossible to predict in advance where the regional centers will be located and the exact character of each of them once established, it is likely that this will be decided in large part by the degree of interest shown by UN member governments in contributing buildings, facilities, and an annual budget toward their establishment, with due regard to the total geographical distribution around the world. With the Soviet Union's negative response to the idea and with similar responses from the Eastern Socialist Republics, it is probable that there will be no regional center in Eastern Europe, at least in the opening stages.

On the other hand, in view of the assurances of interest and of significant financial contributions by Japan, it is possible that one of the first regional centers or the world headquarters may be established in that country. This may of course raise the question of whether Japan, or India, which has shown serious interest in considering Nehru University in New Delhi as a UN University center, or possibly China, which voted for the 1972 resolution, would provide a preferable Asian center.

Little is known at present about the intentions of the Chinese Government and the degree of interest that that government will take in the whole idea, although there are a number of practical advantages to China, at this stage in the development of her global policies, in taking initiatives to attract the world's scholars and scientists inside her borders. There are also genuine advantages to the rest of the world in introducing Chinese educational thinking into the stream of thought now flowing into the conception of the world university itself.

Having undergone a cultural revolution to bring Chinese educational institutions into direct contact with the needs of the Chinese people, it is possible that the Chinese will see in the conception of a global university an opportunity to provide research and training facilities both for her own people and for a whole variety of scholars and scientists from abroad, who, until recently, have been isolated from the reality of Chinese culture and social affairs.

The Canadian Government has shown interest in recent months in establishing a North American regional center. There is a tradition of Canadian support for peace-keeping enterprises, for social development projects, some of them stemming from the Government's International Development Research Centre for development research and aid to other countries and to the support of programs for environmental protection. Offers of land and proposals for action have already been considered by the cities of Toronto and Montreal, and at the present time, the Canadian Government is making explorations with UN officials regarding cost and feasibility.

With a negative attitude expressed by the United States toward the whole idea of the UN University, it is improbable that the U.S. will propose either a world headquarters or a regional center in this country. The Canadians may well benefit from American lack of interest. It may also be true that with American and Soviet withdrawal from active participation, other countries will feel freer to take their own initiatives and to fill the big power vacuum.

In the case of the African countries, a great deal of interest and support for the idea has been forthcoming in the debates at ECOSOC, UNESCO and the General Assembly. The developed countries have had less interest than the lesser developed for the usual reasons, and once more the contrast between the needs of the have-nots and the resources of the haves is reflected in national and regional attitudes. At the present time, the available resources are far more limited in the Third World than in the industrialized countries for raising the level of research and research training through national educational systems. Under the United Nations University plan, advanced research and training programs would enter those regions where they are most needed and could be most effective.

It is also true, as the 1972 UNESCO report from the International Commission on the Development of Education (the Faure Report) points out, that "traditional formulae and partial reforms cannot meet the unprecedented demand for education arising out of the new tasks and functions to be fulfilled . . ." It would be foolish, in building a new organization designed from a global point of view, to repeat the errors of the past in construing education and research only in terms of the interests of the Western elites and in continuing the existing social, political, and cultural hierarchies.

In the future development of the UN University, it is clear that the less developed countries have most to gain from the availability of research and training centers staffed by the world's most talented scholars and scientists and located in their own backyards. Since the very people who need it most have the least chance to get it for themselves, the existence of a world university system in which all are persuaded to contribute to the total flow of knowledge available to every one else provides a new conception of cultural and intellectual pluralism in world society. There are relatively few scholars and scientists from the developed countries who know at first hand the problems and reality of life in the Third World, and aside from occasional relationships at international meetings and the presence of Third World students and scholars in the universities of the developed countries, there is little opportunity for full colleagueship among scholars on an international scale.

This is as much a loss for the intellectuals of the developed countries as it is for those in the Third World. The argument to be made for support of the United Nations University by the developed countries is therefore not a repetition of the moral responsibility of the rich for the poor. It is the opportunity for serious scholars in every society to join forces with their colleagues in the world community in the use of their talents and energies on behalf of all the world's citizens, those of their own society included.

In the present international system, scholars and students are unavoidably locked into their national cultures, and until now we have not had models of true international communities of scholars at work on the most serious international problems. Under the plan for the United Nations University, the appointment of faculty members to the regional university centers will mean that most of them keep their positions in their own national universities and work with the other members of the University teams on a rotating basis. "Dissemination of knowledge, exchange of academic personnel, and the generation of catalytic ideas would constitute the central functions of the University," said Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to the opening session of the Founding Committee in March of 1973. The formation of continuing and changing transnational communities in the regional centers with links to the permanent communities of the national universities cannot fail to raise the level of international cooperation among universities.

GUARANTEES OF INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

One of the most important issues discussed during the four years of planning was the question of the independence of the University from political, social, and economic pressures of the kind which afflict the universities of the world and which can destroy the ideal of the university as a center for free enquiry. In the case of a University sponsored by the United Nations, fears were expressed that it would inherit the political environment of the United Nations itself, and that research results on questions having to do with social, economic and political systems, especially if they involved proposals for world action, would be subject to controversy, interference, and even repression.

On the one hand, if the University were to serve its true function as a catalyst

for enlightened social change and the solution of global problems involving the issues of peace and war, social development and the preservation of the planet, it would be bound to develop ideas which, at least by implication, were critical of the existing order and of national and international policies presently in effect. On the other hand, if it did develop such ideas, the same kind of controversy and political in-fighting which occurs in the General Assembly, the Security Council, and elsewhere in the UN system could infect the work of the University and destroy its effectiveness. One need only think of a serious and accurate study of the status of political prisoners in the prisons of the world and how this would be received by many countries with records of repression.

The administration of the University and the structure of its internal and external authority in relation to academic freedom therefore became a key question for the Panel of Experts and the Founding Committee to answer. If a satisfactory answer could not be found, there would be no point in establishing the University.

The center of the question lies in the role of the University's Governing Council and the quality of its membership. The Council is designed to include some of the most distinguished scholars in the world, and the Council's autonomy in relation to the United Nations in making policies and carrying them out is assured in the University charter. Although there can never be a complete and final solution to the problem of protecting the intellectual freedom of any academic institution, the charter goes as far as it is possible to go in advance of the actual experience of the University with its own program.

Research results from members of the University Centers could of course be attacked at any point by scholars and governments outside the Centers, as well as inside. If enough governments were critical enough of the work of the University, it could be voted out of existence by the General Assembly. It is also possible that an individual faculty member, on leave from his own national university or research institute, could be called home and punished, or, as an alternative, exiled, if the results of his research roused the antagonism of his government. But the structural arrangements are sound, and it must be assumed that the scholars on the Council who make the policy and carry it out, and the scholars in each of the regional centers, will stand together in support of the intellectual freedom which the University must have if it is to be of any use to the world.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

The administration of the University with its centers and affiliated institutions will be in the hands of a Rector responsible not directly to the United Nations but to the Governing Council. The twenty-four Council members – scholars, scientists, and educators – are to be chosen by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of UNESCO in consultation with appropriate organizations within the United Nations system, including the UN Institute of Training and Research (UNITAR) and "appropriate representative bodies" from the international community.

The appointments to the Council are to be made on "a broad geographical

basis with due regard to major academic, scientific, educational and cultural trends in the world, taking into account the various fields of study, with appropriate representation of young scholars . . . " The Council will "formulate principles and policies which shall govern the activities and operations of the University", and among other responsibilities will decide on the research and training priorities, adopt a budget submitted by the Rector, develop methods of financing to ensure continuity, and consider "the various kinds of arrangements under which institutions and individuals may be associated with its work . . . . "

The members of the Council will meet at least once a year, with provisions for special sessions as required. Although the Council will report annually, through the Rector and the Secretary-General, to the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Executive Board of UNESCO, and other components of the UN system as appropriate, it will be responsible as an autonomous body for the policies and activities of the University.

The Rector of the University will be selected by the Governing Council in cooperation with the Secretary-General of the UN and the Director-General of UNESCO through a Nominating Committee of three Council members, including the Council Chairman who will be elected by that body, and two others appointed by the Secretary-General and the Director-General. The Rector will serve for a term of five years, and be eligible for one additional five-year term. His position involves broad powers in the content and direction of research and training programs, the budget, the appointment of personnel, affiliation of organizations and individuals, and the acceptance of funds from governments and other sources. Along with the Secretary-General, the Rector will be the chief fund-raiser. The Rector and his staff will be located at the world headquarters, with a coordinating committee of scholars to handle the work of building the world-wide research and training programs and coordinating the activities of the regional centers where they are carried on.

SOME POSSIBILITIES AND PROBLEMS

It will be clear from this description of the administrative structure that the success of the new University, whether in maintaining its own freedom or in developing world enthusiasm for its work, will depend basically on the quality of imagination and educational intelligence of the scholars in the original Governing Council and of the person they appoint as Rector. The Charter is merely a document which states the ground-rules by which the University is to operate, and as such, it has provided a sensible set of arrangements for organizing a program of global research and training, while leaving it open for the Governing Council to decide most of the questions about how it will actually work.

There is also room in the Charter for the development of any number of new forms of collaboration with existing educational institutions, organizations and groups, and it will be up to the Governing Council and the Rector in the first stages to make so brilliant a beginning that the whole world will wish to join and volunteers of all kinds will be knocking at the door. What the United Nations has done is to take the idea of a world university and work out a way in which it could be established, with enough bureaucratic structure to give it stability and

enough freedom from bureaucratic control to give the scholars and students of the world a chance to work out an open future.

In many ways it is astonishing that an idea of this size and breadth of implication has been able to move through the United Nations system and come out alive and breathing. There have been so many discouraging attitudes expressed toward the United Nations as an institution, so many ways in which it has failed to carry out the hopes of those who founded it, so many instances in which it has lacked the politcal and social force to achieve the aims of the UN Charter. What effectiveness it has had in the prevention of wars and in bringing some degree of enlightenment and rationality into the solution of international political problems has only been available when it has served the interests of the major powers to grant it.

The power of persuasion through mass public opinion, as described by Dag Hammarskjold and U Thant, has continued to diminish over the years, until now condemnation of the actions of member-states by the Security Council or the General Assembly or proposals for political solutions of international conflicts are merely the reflection of internal political action at the United Nations rather than effective appeals to the conscience of the world's citizens.

On the other hand, there is a form of power developed by the United Nations as an institution which in the long run has had and will have a serious effect on the character of the world order. This power lies in a capacity for educating the world about the true nature of its problems, for bringing its representatives together to work out whatever solutions are possible, and for pushing those solutions to the limits the political realities allow. The agencies of the United Nations system are instruments for education, research, and action in improving the quality of life within world society.

Considered as an educational instrument, the United Nations has had a fair amount of success, although it has not yet penetrated the national educational systems and produced changes within them which enlarge an international outlook in their thinking and practices. As yet, few ways have been found for the United Nations to deal directly with the world's citizens in terms of their individual needs, whether for intellectual and political freedom or for over-all improvement in the quality of their lives. The only route from the UN to the citizens in most countries is by way of their national governments.

This has been a serious handicap in the case of planning the world university. The plans had to be developed by the secretariats of the UN and UNESCO in the political context of the UN system, and although a detailed questionnaire on the main issues was distributed by the UNESCO staff to a selected list of the world's university administrators, few universities took an active part in response. Added to this was the fact that it was not possible to describe the proposal for a world university in anything more than general terms until the debates and discussions inside the UN system produced a plan on which a majority of the governments could agree. Only now, in the fall of 1973, has it been possible to announce, with the writing of the University Charter, what the UN University is to be and how it is to work.

CRITICISMS AND HESITATIONS

It must also be said that there has not been widespread or overwhelming enthusiasm either inside or outside the United Nations for creating the new institution. Many of the countries most concerned and most sensitive to the need for a new international university system do not have the power or the money to get it. They can barely keep their own universities going. At a time when universities elsewhere are under the most severe pressures, ranging from political controversy and interference to student dissatisfaction, financial undernourishment, over-expansion, and the necessities of basic educational change, there is no organized constituency around the world in support of new programs of international education in general. At a time when the United Nations is fighting for its financial life, the thought of adding any new financial obligations to existing or competing budgets has a dampening effect on all ideas for enlarging the scope of the UN enterprise.

One of the general lines of criticism of the whole idea has come from member governments who have seen the UN University as simply another UN agency, and one which would duplicate the research and training in existing agencies and in the institutes, university departments, and research programs already operating on an international scale. The concern is genuine, and if the new plan did not take that possibility into account, there would be no point in adding another institution to UNESCO, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, and the UN agencies.

But in fact, there is no over-all coordinating body at the UN or anywhere else, which can provide a world structure into which the world's educational systems can fit for purposes of cooperation and joint effort on global problems. The remarks of Sir Robert Jackson in his 1969 *Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System* point both to the weaknesses of the present UN system and to a solution of the kind sought by the planners of the new University. "For many years," says Jackson, "I have looked for the 'brain' which guides the policies and operations of the UN development system. The search has been in vain . . . There is no group (or 'Brain Trust') which is constantly monitoring the present operation, learning from experience, grasping at all that science and technology has to offer, launching new ideas and methods, challenging the established practices, and provoking thought inside and outside the system . . . . The UN development system has tried to wage a war on want for many years with very little organized 'brain' to guide it. Its absence may well be the greatest constraint of all on capacity."

When we look at the resources presently available for supplying a brain for the world's body, we find that the world's universities have not shown either the capacity or the will to become involved directly and on a sustained basis with the problems the UN University is designed to confront. There is, of course, a large amount of academic study in such fields international relations, world history, peace research, social development, and population studies. But the national universities have not reached a point when their curricula, research studies, and other potential contributions to world cooperation in the prevention of war and the advancement of human welfare are even remotely adequate to the task which the UN University proposes to undertake.

In the case of UNITAR, the research and training programs of which were originally designed to meet some of these needs, the fact that the institute is an under-financed part of the UN apparatus and subject to its internal pressures has meant that large-scale treatment of world problems by teams of independent scholars and scientists, either in training or research, has been impossilbe. UNESCO, on the other hand, is not organized in a way that could produce a world university of its own. What it can do is to use its resources and its existing networks of cooperating scholars and educators to support the central purpose of a university sponsored by the United Nations.

THE UNIVERSITY AS A SCANNING DEVICE

Rather than acting as an additional agency super-imposed on all the others, the new UN University can do something which has never before been done. Not only can it serve as a catalytic agent to create new constellations of effort on behalf of the aims of the United Nations Charter. The establishment of the University now makes it possible for all the other educational structures and systems, inside and outside the United Nations, to pool their resources and cooncentrate more directly on the complicated question of developing a new world order. It holds before the world the ideal of a world community of concerned intellectuals, drawn from every part of the globe, willing to use their talents on behalf of the human race.

The UN planners have invented a global educational network which did not exist before, and because this is a University that is spread all over the earth, it can expect to receive back from its regional centers a vast supply of information and knowledge about what is happening everywhere and what serious people are thinking about these events.

In that sense it is an intellectual scanning device, which, if it works properly, can give the United Nations a new conception of itself and its mission, since the study of the problems of achieving a just and peaceable world order could very well begin with the question of how to reorganize the United Nations to make it work more directly for the good of the citizens in the world's communities.

In another sense, the new University is a device for spreading the conception of global thinking and action research on world problems into the cultural and educational systems of the regions it enters. Dr. Abdus Salam, Director of the International Centre for Theoretical Physics in Trieste and a member of both the UN Panel of Experts and the Founding Committee, wrote a memorandum on this point to his colleagues of the Panel. "In the case of research and research training for physicists at the Trieste Centre," says Dr. Salam, "the opportunity for young scholars from the Third World to work with international teams of some of the most accomplished physicists in the field has transformed the studies in physics in the developing world."

The new University will establish a United Nations presence in the regions of the planet. As a parallel to the peace-keeping presence of United Nations observers in conflict situations to which they are sent, the faculty members of the UN University centers, drawn from the ranks of experienced, accomplished, and recognized scholars and scientists, by the creation of new and visible

international standards, can exert serious influence toward higher levels of intellectual achievement and university performance in the regions where centers are located.

THE EXAMPLE OF STOCKHOLM

The best example of how this can be done comes from the success of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in June of 1972 in Stockholm. In the beginning stages of the nearly four years of discussion and negotiation which preceded the Conference itself, the same kind of doubts, criticisms, ambiguities, and hesitations which met the UN University idea were all there. The sceptics claimed that the Conference would produce nothing more than another UN declaration and that the idea of setting up a super-agency to deal in an over-all way with all the environmental problems, no matter what agencies already existed for dealing with them, was utopian and unworkable.

Yet by the time the preparations for the Conference were complete, its Secretary-General, Maurice Strong, had set in motion an intellectual and political event unique in the history of world affairs. The event was sponsored, as is the case with the UN University, by the only organization in the world capable of calling together 114 countries and 1,200 of their official representatives to deal with critical world problems in a spirit of mutual concern. As Indira Ghandi said at a plenary session, in a speech greeted by a standing ovation, it was "a fresh expression of the spirit which created the United Nations."

In essence, the Stockholm Conference was an embryo world university, except that its semester lasted only two weeks, and the research, by some of the world's most distinguished scholars and scientists, was done before the semester began and continued only after its conclusion. But the model is there. Seven hundred representatives of 450 non-governmental organizations were officially represented, or, to put it another way, it was a time when the citizens of the world had direct access to the operation of the United Nations as it performed its tasks in public, outside the limitations of internal UN debate.

All the UN regional commissions and specialized agencies took part, as they have been invited to do in the UN University plan, and there were 3,000 to 5,000 students and young people who organized their own parallel and counter-conferences to express their own points of view. A basic text, *Only One Earth*, written by the political economist, Barbara Ward, and micro-biologist, Rene Dubos, with the help of a 152-member committee of consultants from 58 countries, served as a summary of the problems and concerns of the Conference. More than 2,000 print and electronic journalists covered the event, as did a daily newspaper, the *Stockholm Conference Eco*, especially designed to provide the delegates with a sophisticated critique of the daily events and discussions.

In other words, (the words of the Founding Committee's description of the UN University) what came into existence was an instrument "to promote, undertake and stimulate as well as co-ordinate advanced research and training focused on the aspirations, the needs and problems of contemporary society." This is not to say that the high level of drama and public debate that marked the Stockholm affair would express itself in the year-round work of a United Nations

University. But the spirit is there if it can be properly nurtured. What the UN University proposes to do, and can do if all goes well, is to expand the Stockholm idea of global cooperation among scientists, scholars and citizens in using the organized intelligence of the international University community to deal directly with the problems of global society.

THE ROLE OF YOUTH

In transposing the Stockholm mystique into the reality of a world university, one serious obstacle lies in the fact that the UN University as it has been designed has no students, except for young research scholars already embarked on their careers. Nor does it have a teaching program or provision for the dissemination of its research results through educational extension. Critics of the plan have argued that all it does is to provide some more homes for the academic elites, this time on a world scale, and that the regional centers will do nothing more than to add more unread research reports to the shelves of UN agencies, universities, libraries, and other research institutes who will send *their* research reports to lie unread on the shelves of the new centers.

It is true that a university without students, while it stands as an ideal for many faculty members, is a contradiction in terms. No students were directly involved in the planning for the new University, except for two student observers at one meeting of the Panel of Experts in April of 1972, and four young people representing international student organizations, as observers at the discussions of the Founding Committee in March and June of 1973. Very few members of the international student movement have had any precise knowledge of the plans being developed for the University, and those who did, mainly from the International Student Movement for the United Nations, made strong presentations to the planning officials for the inclusion of students as equal members of the planning bodies.

The point is that the United Nations was not originally organized as an educational institution or as a source of fresh educational thinking. It has found itself in the position of having to deal with educational questions by the circumstances of its own development. As an organization, it is a reflection of the past and of the hegemony of the West and its educational and cultural system. That system was built on a series of cultural elites which have always interlocked with the instruments of political and social control, and the universities have been the breeding-ground for the elites to reproduce themselves. It is assumed that universities exist for those who have been trained in the schools to do university work, and university work is done by university people. If you have not been trained for that kind of work, you have no business being in a university.

In this sense, the United Nations and UNESCO are organizations of university people, in the delegations, the secretariat and the staff, most of whom have been trained in universities whose central model is 19th century European. When plans are made for a world university, it is assumed that the models of the past are the basis on which a new system should be built. The idea of inventing new models designed to serve the needs of a mass clientele of citizens on a world scale is a concept foreign to the academic mind.

Yet it is this basic assumption of the elites that is put in question by the world-wide student revolt, along with the assumption that the university should act, not as the provider of learning services to the citizens, but as the central agency of intellectual authority and official culture of the contemporary nation-state. The United Nations has had to struggle with the contradiction between the need to reach the younger generation of the world and to enlist its support for the future of the organization, and the fact that as the UN is presently organized, there is little opportunity for younger people to become involved in its programs. Except for the UN guides at Headquarters, there are few posts available for young people in the system. Only 4 percent of the secretariat is under the age of thirty, only a handful of younger people are in the UN delegations of member states, and the upper ranks of the agencies and departments exclude youth both at headquarters and in the field.

The fact that the UN recognizes that there is a problem in dealing with the younger generation is shown in the twenty-nine resolutions passed in the General Assembly and in the Economic and Social Council from 1965 to 1971 each of them dealing, in one way or another, with the need to involve the youth of the world who in 1970 were 54 percent of the total population of the earth, in action and education for global cooperation and development. The World Youth Assembly of July, 1970, brought to the United Nations Headquarters 625 delegates from 118 countries, some of them professional youth organizers over the age of 40, 35 percent of them over the age of 25, to deal with world problems from the point of view of youth. It became clear that there were sharp differences in political opinion and attitude toward world affairs and the United Nations between the youth delegates and the members of the older UN generation, and that the delegates felt a deep sense of resentment over their exclusion from any role in UN policy-making.

But what was in many ways a promising beginning in giving recognition to the ideas and future contributions of youth did not get beyond the first stage of holding an Assembly. There has been little enthusiasm by the member governments for holding another one. Some of the problems in the way of taking further action were dealt with in a major report from the Secretary-General to the General Assembly in August of 1972 on *Channels of Communication With Youth and International Youth Organizations.*

The report states bluntly that the fundamental question of what to do about youth requires a political decision by the General Assembly, followed by "the establishment of mechanisms capable of making the views and interests of young people actually felt . . . Without the political decision to 'open up' the Organization to young people, such opportunities, where they exist, will continue to be token opportunities only. At the same time, the political 'opening up' in itself, without specific opportunities for participation, would be purposeless. At this level, the question of communication becomes a question of participation."

The report goes on to make recommendations as to how participation could become more direct, including the appointment of a 10-member *ad hoc* Advisory Group on Youth to advise the Secretary General on youth activities,

further development of the discussions between the UN secretariat and the international student organization representatives in Geneva and New York, and association of youth with UN-assisted regional projects. The most important development as far as action is concerned is in the programs of the United Nations Volunteers, now 140 in number, who are working at the invitation of member governments on projects in 47 countries.

A UNIVERSITY WITHOUT STUDENTS

In view of the absence of students, a teaching program, and a plan for world education through the dissemination of research results, questions have been raised at the United Nations and elsewhere as to whether the name *University* should be used at all to describe the new institution. The decision of the planners was to keep the name and provide in the Charter for collaboration with colleges, universities, and students in the regions where the centers are to be located. Exactly how that collaboration will take place is to be decided by the Governing Council, the Rector and the headquarters staff when they begin to work with the regional centers. A great deal will of course depend on how interested the students and faculty members in each region are in taking advantage of the UN University presence, and what sort of arrangements they are invited to make for collaboration.

In the meantime, in the creation of the new University, the United Nations has a major chance to do exactly what it keeps urging itself to do in the resolutions of the General Assembly and ECOSOC -- to make new relations with the youth of the world so that they can share in the work of education, social development, the advancement of human rights and the aims of the United Nations Charter. It is in fact odd, after all the resolutions and declarations of intent, that no specific provision has been made in the University Charter for the involvement of youth and students.

There have been some problems in the past in arranging for such involvement, aside from those already mentioned, since the UN as an institution has looked almost entirely toward the present UN institutional structure for making arrangements, usually through consultations with existing international student organizations. These organizations vary in quality, purpose, and social force. Most of them have serious financial problems, as well as the basic problem of relating the work of their central offices to the interests and needs of their members in regional branches around the world. In some cases they have good programs of their own, and it is hard for many of their most active regional members, in the absence of UN programs which they can join, to see how they can share in the UN mission.

There is also a widespread resistance on the part of the international student movement to the paternalism implicit in the way the United Nations deals with them. In the case of the radical students among the activists, (and most of the activists are radicals, at least by comparison with UN personnel), they find the slow pace of UN agency programs and the UN itself to be intolerable and a reflection of a United Nations which, to them, is run by a conservative older generation for its own ambiguous purposes by its own obsolete methods.

As the *Channels of Communications* Report points out: "Young people in many, if not most, parts of the world, are wary of being co-opted into a system that promises communication and participation but may prove in practice to be so closely tied to established procedures or special interests that these processes turn out to be little more than a means for ratifying the *status quo*. There is an uneasiness among many young people over whether international political, economic and social institutions, including the United Nations, are in fact what they represent themselves to be . . . " The report stresses the need for two-way channels when nearly all the channels continue to be either one way or blocked.

SOME WAYS OF INVOLVING STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

On the other hand, the Charter for the new University does leave openings for direct cooperation with youth and students, and if the Governing Council, the Rector and the staff take the initiative right at the beginning of their policy-making, a great deal could be done to bring the world's students into the University as working members. Here are some illustrations.

1. Since the Council and Rector will have to deal almost immediately with the question of the affiliation of other institutions, including the student organizations, it could create at the outset a counter-part of itself in a Youth Council representing an international cross-section of university students and other young people. The Youth Council could submit its own policy recommendations to the Governing Council on issues before the Council and could serve not only as the youth arm of the University planning bodies but as a forum and clearing-house for world opinion among youth and the international student community, as well as a liaison between the UN University and the youth of the world.

2. One way of establishing that liaison immediately would be for the Governing Council, with the help of UNESCO, to take the lead by inviting student bodies of the universities around the world, either through their own student governments and student unions or through branches of international student organizations, to work out a way through which one of their number, not necessarily a student office-holder, would be nominated as a candidate for the UN University Youth Council. One finalist from each UN country would be chosen as candidate. The Governing Council would then choose twenty-four of the one hundred or so finalists for service in the Youth Council.

The rest of the finalists not chosen for the Council would be asked to serve as UN University representatives in their own countries. They would then become the international constituency for the Youth Council, and through them, both the Governing Council and the Youth Council would have representatives throughout the world from whom they would receive advice, opinion, recommendations, and proposals for action and for local UN University initiatives. The form of cooperation for the UN youth representatives with the existing student unions and international student organizations would be left to the Youth Council to work out.

The advantage in making a fresh start of this kind in recruiting a world-wide representation of youth for the UN University lies in the opportunity which it

gives for a direct relation between qualified and active young people and the United Nations. As it stands now, these relations are nearly all indirect – through the UN bureaucracy to the student bureaucracy – when many of the most talented and energetic young people do not wish to work with the standard student organizations or to become involved in their internal politics.

When young people are asked to work for, or on behalf of, the United Nations, the more committed among them want to work *in* the United Nations programs, as colleagues not as junior members of a cheer-leading section or as recipients of UN messages. The honor of being chosen as a member of the Youth Council or as a UN representative for one's country would make real, not only to the members and representatives but to their peers in the world's youth community, the connection between the resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the actual cooperation of the United Nations with the youth of the world.

It would also mean that a way could be found to avoid one of the most frustrating of all problems in dealing with the representation of youth – the tendency of so many governments to appoint as youth leaders persons who are not themselves young but are employees of the government, designated to act as youth organizers and managers. That problem would not solve itself immediately by a fresh approach from the UN University, since many governments would still find ways of making certain that the representatives were government-approved and sponsored. But at the very least it could mean that those chosen as representatives to the UN University were undeniably under the age of 30, or 25, or whatever age is set as the cut-off point between the young and the rest. The time has come to consider youth not as "youth" – a separate breed of human being not yet ready for the responsibilities of citizenship and mature social action – but as part of the entire human family in which each has a responsible part to play.

3. If a UN University Youth Council were developed in this, or in some other way, the UN University representatives and other students and faculty members in each country could collaborate with the international scholars resident in the UN regional centers and could organize seminars and research groups on issues and topics which are part of the on-going research at the centers. This would be crucially important in the case of UN research on questions of social, economic, and educational development, since many of the questions would have to be answered by field work and research dealing directly with the students and teachers in the educational and social systems of the communities in the regions being served by the UN University centers.

4. In working out the details of UN University affiliation for local and regional universities, research institutes and other organizations, the Governing Council could stipulate that colleges and universities, as a condition of affiliation, should develop teaching programs and undergraduate and graduate degrees which make full use of the availabe UN University research on the issues of peace and war, social development, and environmental questions. The treatment of these issues through new curricula and allied research studies would then become an essential part of the affiliation. If the UN University is to serve as a catalytic agent for social change, it will necessarily have to deal with the

agents of change, that is to say, students, youth, and community leaders, both inside and outside the educational and social institutions.

5. It would also be possible for a group of universities in a given region to start a cooperative United Nations University-affiliated center of their own. This could be done by pooling resources in research scholars, faculty members, and students in the region to deal with teaching and research on the topics with which the UN University was concerned, and through the affiliation, receive help from the parent regional center in order to link the local program to the world movement represented by the UN University.

6. One of the most promising projects for involving young people in United Nations affairs has been the United Nations Volunteers. Until now, the universities have not had a direct part in training the volunteers either in technological subjects or in the social sciences. It would be quite possible through the UN University to begin a world-wide research project which studied the role of the young volunteers, both those from the United Nations and from the national volunteer programs linked together in the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service and in the Coordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service. In studies of this kind, the volunteers themselves would become involved in developing educational and training programs for future volunteers, while serving as assistants to UN University research scholars conducting the studies and could prepare themselves for advanced studies in the whole field of development with a view to making scholarship and action in that field into an international career.

There are also some systematic ways in which UN University research and training in social development could be related to work going on in other universities around the world. The Swedish universities, for example are in the process of studying ways in which they can become more completely internationalized. Suppose the Swedish educators organized a cooperative center as part of their internationalizing program, to be affiliated with the UN University, with one part of the program concentrating on the preparation of students for service as UN Volunteers. It is quite possible that students with this kind of preparation behind them would be acceptable as candidates for UN international service. Those who showed special talent in action research on problems of social development as they carried out their assignments in the field could be brought directly into the UN University for further research and training after their two years of field service. From there they could become valuable additions to the staff of UN development projects, and a way would have been found for introducing more young people at every level into the staff of UN agencies.

Other UN Volunteers could organize teaching programs around the research materials developed at the UN University and run experimental programs in the schools and communities of the country of their assignments. A new category of Volunteer might be established to work in organizing UN Youth Centers, some of them allied to universities and schools, student unions and other student organizations, and the student hostel movement. Students and other youth from the region could come to the Youth Centers for periods of a month or two to work with visiting faculty members from the UN University Center, one of

whom might be appointed as the liaison officer for the Youth Centers. Other faculty members from the regional universities who shared the UN University point of view might be invited to join the work of the Youth Centers with the UN faculty members.

7. Students and others among young film-makers, photographers, writers, journalists, artists, and others could be invited by the University to organize projects for disseminating accounts of university research, using video and audio tapes, pamphlets, photography exhibits, and documentary films, in the schools, universities and communities of the region.

RESEARCH, TRAINING, AND SOCIAL ACTION

These few examples of possibilities for the future of relations between youth and the United Nations simply point to some of the missing dimensions in the present UN University structure. The evidence is that unless ways can be found for inviting the young to come into the UN University system as colleagues and not as targets for information and exhortation, the new institution may find itself isolated from the main stream of progressive social action in the regions where it becomes established. There is a fair-sized body of research already in hand on the character and needs of contemporary world youth, although it is not widely known outside the United Nations. Studies like *Long-Term Policies and Programmes for Youth in National Development*, published in 1970 by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, are full of accurate information on the needs and problems of world youth, along with policy recommendations for response to the needs. These studies show a constant theme in their emphasis on national service for youth, either volunteer or as part of the educational system, in the field of social development.

At the same time, studies of the kind represented by the Faure Report, which, merely in terms of the logistics, could not be made by organizations other than UNESCO and the United Nations, also deal with the problems of youth, with another flow of policy recommendations to whom it may concern. The Faure Report places a central emphasis on dealing with these problems by non-formal and innovative means based on the idea that education is a life-long affair whose purpose is to improve the total quality of living.

But what becomes of it all?

The report is submitted to the Executive Board and the General Conference of UNESCO and to the heads of the agencies and organizations of the United Nations system and is drawn to the attention of and distributed to those already connected with the UNESCO network of educators. The International Commission on the Development of Education which prepared the report at a cost of approximately half a million dollars, is now disbanded, along with its staff. Yet the work which it set out to do has only begun with the collection of data, visits to 23 countries, preparation of 81 papers, the writing of a report and the statement of recommendations. The recommendations go into thin air and are not likely ever to be acted upon, in the absence of educational programs linked to a central world university with an active set of affiliates and participants across the face of the globe.

What is missing in the body of UN educational and social research already at

hand is a direct connection between the ideas and analyses provided by the research and their use in educational and social action. It is as if the Bolshoi Ballet Company disbanded after every performance and new performers had to be found and financed to dance the works already in the repertory. The UN University, if it shows the will and the imagination, can provide the continuity and the flow of energy between research and action. That will mean a serious decision, taken very early, to make the matter of outreach to students, cooperation with other educational institutions, and the delivery of learning services to the world community a central part of the operational plan, with an importance attached to this task fully equal to that given to plans for the research and training components of the UN University centers.

One good place is to start on the communication problem, and to find ways of affiliation with existing learning and teaching systems, both formal and informal, and with individuals and groups who volunteer to help. Another place is in the use of existing technologies for communication, by planning for world data banks with computer storage and world access to UN University research results. At present the political obstacles to free communication of information throughout an open world society are formidable and in some cases prohibitive. If the new University is to exert a world-wide influence in carrying out the tasks to which it has been assigned, it will have to deal with methods and policies connected with a world-wide communication system, including the use of space satellite broadcasting to reach the scholars, students and citizens of the world. No doubt that will be a major topic of research in the beginning stages of the University's work.

Ever since December, 1961, the question of the use of communication satellites by the United Nations to enlarge its capacity for sending out information has been the subject of study, discussion, and debate. There can now be a two-fold research and action program sponsored by the UN University to take the question to the wider dimension of how the citizens of the world can be brought more closely in touch with the authentic discoveries of contemporary science and human knowledge and how the citizens can come to know the actual state of the world.

The contribution of the United Nations University in extending global communication can become one of the most important assets in the history of contemporary world society. The University can, if the circumstances are right, become the world's most trusted source of information about the planet and its problems.

This is not to say that because we are to have a university for the world, sponsored by the only existing organization capable of bringing it into existence, we can now be assured of progress toward the goal of creating a peaceable and just world order. But it can be said that at last we have an instrument by which the organized intelligence of the human race can be put to work on the problems of attaining that goal. Those who wish to be so designated, with or without United Nations approval, can become at least honorary members of that imaginary open university of the world in which persons of good will and intellectual energy, as yet unknown to each other, are already enrolled. There is now a way of seeking them out and of seeing what can be done to bring them all together.

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THE INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ORDER (11 West 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036), formerly Institute for International Order and under its auspices, World Law Fund, seeks to advance understanding and acceptance of world order values of peace, social justice, economic welfare, and ecological balance. The Institute conducts a broad range of educational activities at the school, college, and university levels, including the development of study and teaching materials on problems of world order and the training of teachers through seminars, colloquia, and courses on world order. A major activity of the Institute is the World Order Models Project, a global effort to develop models of alternative systems for dealing with the world's most critical problems in the final decade of this century.

THE UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY (241 West 12th Street, New York, N.Y. 10014) was formed in June, 1973, by a group of concerned Americans who support the idea of a world university sponsored by the United Nations and wish to help in its establishment and future development. The Committee is involved in preparing reports of present and future plans for the UN University, organizing seminars and conferences on topics related to the research and potential teaching program of the University, and carrying on similar activities to encourage involvement in and support for the UN University on the part of the U.S. academic community.